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Actor-Network Theory of Cosmopolitan Education

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Abstract

In the past, philosophers discussed cosmopolitanism as a normative ideal of allegiance to humanity as a whole. A debate among social theorists, however, has examined cosmopolitanism as an incipient empirical phenomenon: an orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures. This paper introduces actor-network theory to elaborate the social-theoretical conception of cosmopolitanism. In light of the actor-network theory of cosmopolitanism, the paper proposes cosmopolitan education that aims to foster in students three dispositions: to extend attachments to foreign people and objects; to understand transnational connections in which their lives are embedded; and to act on these attachments and understandings to effect transformations across national borders. Through this three-fold cosmopolitan education, students will grow to be citizens of the world who traverse national borders dialogically by virtue of their transnational attachments, understandings, and actions.

Keywords: actor-network theory, citizenship education, cosmopolitanism, globalization, Japanese schools, international education

This paper is a sociological intervention in the contemporary philosophical debate on cosmopolitanism and, especially, cosmopolitan education. Although in recent years philosophers have begun to examine cosmopolitanism extensively, their discussions tend to be based on an impoverished understanding of the historical condition of the possibility of cosmopolitanism (Brubaker 2003, Calhoun 2003). Such a tendency in philosophical debate is not problematic in itself because normative ideals do not require any grounding in empirical realities. When normative ideals lack an empirical basis in existing institutional and motivational structures, however, they fail to be actualized in practices—forms of life must meet norms halfway (Habermas 1990). In this regard, the project of cosmopolitan education is no exception because it is driven by the normative ideal of cosmopolitanism. Some philosophically-inclined educational researchers are aware of this fact, and they have proposed school curricula and learning activities intended to educate citizens of the world, based on empirical observations of lessons inside schools (Hicks 2002, Osler and Vincent 2002, Mansilla and Gardner 2007). Nonetheless, their proposals for cosmopolitan education still lack adequate empirical grounding because they have not taken into account the economic, political, social, and cultural conditions that constitute the parameters of learning activities inside schools. This paper is an attempt to re-envision cosmopolitan education by mapping out more comprehensively the historical condition, both inside and outside schools, under which students live and learn.

To achieve the goal of the paper, I first introduce actor-network theory in order to clarify the incipient reality of 'cosmopolitanism' as a subjective dimension of globalization. That is, cosmopolitanism is conceptualized as an orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures as the result of quotidian encounters with people and objects of multiple nationalities. Then, in light of my experiences as a guest teacher and an academic adviser to non-profit education organizations, I illustrate the contours of cosmopolitan education in terms of school curricula, textbooks, and lessons that will help students develop such openness on three dimensions: extension of attachments beyond their ascribed national groups; understanding of their connections with people and objects across national borders; and acting out of those transnational attachments and connections to effect transformations of the world. In short, this paper sketches what existing cosmopolitanism looks like and suggests how educators can foster it through educational practices that encourage students to traverse dialogically, if not transcend dialectically, national borders on affective, cognitive, and actional dimensions.

From philosophy to actor-network theory

In the past, such philosophers as the Stoics and Immanuel Kant discussed cosmopolitanism as a normative ideal of allegiance to humanity as a whole. The debate among social theorists, however, takes a different approach to cosmopolitanism as a set of dispositions centred on openness to foreign others and cultures. [1] While social theorists of cosmopolitanism have noted an implicit and loose causal link between a material dimension of globalization and the subjective orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures, I propose to elaborate this presumed causal link between globalization and cosmopolitanism by using a network-analytic perspective: cosmopolitanism as the result of being embedded in a network of associations that traverse national borders. In this regard, actor-network theory (ANT) offers a most promising point of departure. Because ANT has focused mainly on studies of sciences and technologies (Callon *et al.* 1986, Latour 1999, Law and Hassard 1999), it has not been used in debates on globalization and cosmopolitanism. However, ANT offers useful conceptual heuristics for understanding the nature of cosmopolitanism as a new form of subjectivity coterminous with globalization, the ever-wider circulation of people, objects, and representations across national borders.

To demonstrate the efficacy of ANT in illuminating cosmopolitanism as an emergent empirical phenomenon, i.e. subjective dimension of globalization, I first show how ANT can supplant the inadequate understanding of social reality around which the contemporary philosophical debates of cosmopolitanism have revolved. The dominant philosophical theory, for example, defines cosmopolitans in terms of their detachment from local forms of life and orientation to humanity as a whole:

Becoming a citizen of the world is often a lonely business. It is, as Diogenes said, a kind of exile—from the comfort of local truths, from the warm, nestling feeling of patriotism, from the absorbing drama of pride in oneself and one's own. (Nussbaum 1996: 15)

Here, cosmopolitans are conceived as strangers on earth. In this extreme version, cosmopolitans are nomads who are always in the middle, always subverting institutionalized borders while generating their own singular itineraries (Deleuze and Guattari 1986).

I do not deny that such cosmopolitan wanderers may exist. Take, for example, an image of a perfect cosmopolitan that Said (1993: 335) presented by quoting the following passage by the Christian mystic Hugo of St. Victor who lived in 12th-century Germany:

The person who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is as a foreign place.

At a first glance, immigrants look like examples of perfect strangers on earth, for their transnational itineraries criss-cross national borders defined by states; however, they are actually in between tender beginners and strong persons, to use Hugo of St. Victor's formulation. Immigrants do not renounce their attachments to their native and adopted lands, but try to weave them into reasonably coherent wholes that they can live with. That is, they do not negate but negotiate multiple attachments across national borders. Perhaps the image of the perfect cosmopolitan as a stranger on earth is an ideal meant only for mystics, such as Hugo of St. Victor.

I contend that this acquisition and negotiation of multiple attachments constitutes a defining feature of cosmopolitanism as an incipient empirical phenomenon, a subjective dimension of globalization. Here Latour's (2005) metaphor of marionettes as actor-networks helps elaborate this feature of cosmopolitanism: 'The more strings the marionettes are allowed to have, the more articulated they become' (p. 217). Human beings are like the marionettes. The more they are connected to other actors, the more actionable they can become. Left on their own, their capacity to take actions and effect changes in the world diminishes. 'From now on', Latour (2005: 217–218) suggests, 'when we speak of actor we should always add the large network of attachments making it act'. Cosmopolitans are also like the marionettes; they are human actors who are embedded in networks of attachments that enable them to engage in thinking, feeling, and acting that can traverse national borders. From the ANT perspective, cosmopolitanism is not about becoming detached from one's particular community. *Rather, it is about working through attachments to people and objects across multiple particular communities.* In other words, cosmopolitanism means a multiplication of attachments that criss-cross group categories and boundaries.

This sociological notion of cosmopolitanism as a multiplication of attachments to foreign people and objects is distinct from the conventional philosophical notion of cosmopolitanism as allegiance to humanity as a whole. As Lévinas (1999) defined the face of the 'other' as constitutive of the self, the other must have a face, concrete and embodied. In contrast, 'humanity as a whole' is faceless. If it has a face, it is a particular concrete individual that stands in for the abstract idea. To put it another way, 'Man-in-general does not exist; *I* exist and a particular concrete *other* exists' (Bakhtin 1993: 47).

The incipient reality of cosmopolitanism as I have presented it is therefore dialogical, not dialectical. From the ANT perspective, cosmopolitans do not transcend national borders by sublating differences dialectically into a unity of humanity; rather, they traverse national borders dialogically by multiplying attachments with particular people and objects. When people participate in fund-raising drives for victims of armed conflicts or natural disasters abroad, for example, they are acting on their attachments (e.g. sympathy) to particular foreign others and through concrete institutional channels (e.g. relief-aid agencies). Human beings do not, and cannot, act toward the idea of humanity as a whole. They can feel and act only for the 'particular concrete other' who has a face. Needless to say, people can keep in mind the idea of 'humanity as a whole' while engaging in transnational humanitarian activities. 'Humanity as a whole' can operate as an empty signifier to justify interventions in lives of foreign others. What the signifier 'humanity as a whole' articulates in reality, however, is a group of particular foreign others whom we regard as part of humankind by virtue of our attachments to them. In practice, we are compelled to act in the face of the suffering foreign others, so long as such transnational attachments have made dialogical our sense of selves and ethical responsibility.

ANT also offers an alternative to the Stoic, philosophical model of cosmopolitanism that represents different levels of group membership and loyalty with a series of concentric circles. In the Stoic model, the first and smallest circle is drawn around the self. The next takes in one's family. As the circle gets bigger and moves outward, it encompasses people in neighbourhoods, cities, and countries:

Beyond all these circles is the largest one, that of humanity as a whole. Our task as citizens of the world, and as educators who prepare people to be citizens of the world, will be to 'draw the circles somehow toward the centre', making all human beings like our fellow city-dwellers. (Nussbaum 1997: 60)

The problem with the Stoic model of cosmopolitanism is that the contemporary world does not map onto a series of concentric circles that equate physical and social proximities; rather, the world maps onto a web of lines that connect individuals. Again, immigrants are a good example to show why the Stoic model does not work. For example, a male Japanese immigrant can marry an Indian and start his own family in the USA, while maintaining ties with his parents, siblings, and relatives in Japan as well as with his in-laws in India. His ties with his family members in Japan and India are physically more distant, but can be socially more consequential than his ties with some of his US neighbours and co-workers. Because of his connections with particular Japanese and Indian individuals, he may feel more attached and loyal to Japan and India than to the US. Here the immigrant's sense of group membership and loyalty does not map onto a series of concentric circles representing different levels of physical-social proximity. The geography of immigrants' attachments makes the Stoic model obsolete, and lends credibility to ANT for its ability to map out dots (actors) and lines (attachments) that traverse a series of concentric circles.

In the contemporary world, however, even non-immigrants, who make up the vast majority of human populations, can acquire attachments that do not fit in the Stoic model because 'our fellow city-dwellers' come from different and faraway places. Non-immigrants can no longer make do with their everyday life without drawing on signifiers and cultural idioms that travel across national borders. Foods, clothing, appliances, and many other consumer products are made entirely outside one's own country, or at least contain parts that are made abroad. These objects from abroad make possible human interactions here and now, but they carry inside times, spaces, and social relations that exist outside the horizon of here and now. Turning one's clothing inside out, for example, one sees that it was made abroad. What is closest to one's bare skin can come from a farthest place. Here what one takes as belonging to an outer circle in the Stoic model erupts inside the smallest circle. As Latour (2005: 202) suggests, 'In most situations, actions will already be interfered with by heterogeneous entities that don't have the same local presence, don't come from the same time, are not visible at once'. Again, this makes it impossible to draw a series of concentric circles representing different levels of social and physical proximities from the local to the global. There is only the *glocal* in the sense that one locality folds inside connections to other localities. Tracing these connections, one encounters foreign others. Through these translocal connections one influences, and is influenced by (for better or worse), the lives of others outside one's locality. What we call 'local interaction' is in actuality 'the assemblage of all the *other* local interactions distributed elsewhere in time and space' (p. 194).

Put somewhat differently, people we typically call 'locals' are really 'glocals', for their everyday lives are internally connected to activities of other people across local and national borders. This ANT insight into the glocal calls into question a dichotomy between cosmopolitans and locals. Hannerz (1990: 250) has argued that 'there can be no cosmopolitans without locals' because for the latter:

diversity itself, as a matter of personal access to varied cultures, may be of little intrinsic interest. It just so happens that this is the principle which allows all locals to stick to their respective cultures. For the cosmopolitans, in contrast, there is value in diversity as such, but they are not likely to get it, in anything like the present form, unless other people are allowed to carve out special niches for their cultures, and keep them.

I agree with Hannerz that there can be no cosmopolitans without locals; however, I add a twist to his statement: there can be no cosmopolitans without locals, because there are only cosmopolitan locals. [2] Some cosmopolitans today are 'elite frequent flyers' who travel across national borders for business as

well as for pleasure (Calhoun 2003). Others are immigrants and refugees who cross borders out of economic necessity or political persecution (Pollock *et al.* 2000). The majority of cosmopolitans are, however, those who are rooted in networks of attachments or connections with people and objects across national borders. These non-immigrant populations do not travel as much as frequent flyers and immigrants, but their everyday lives are penetrated by foreign people and objects that have travelled from other places. [3] '[W]e are all cosmopolitans' (Rabinow 1986: 258) in the sense that we are human actors embedded in networks of attachments with people and objects that traverse national borders: cosmopolitan locals as actor-networks of glocalization.

Principles of cosmopolitan education

Given this understanding of cosmopolitanism as an orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures as the result of multiple attachments that traverse national borders, I suggest that a task for educators is to envision and propose educational practices (including but not limited to school curricula, textbooks, and learning activities) that can help students expand on such existing openness. Here I take a step further than an 'educational cosmopolitanism' that advocates the installation of critical openness to foreign cultures as an overarching orientation in educational practices (Hansen 2008). In that ANT has provided a more adequate understanding of the historical condition of the possibility of cosmopolitanism, it is time that educators propose a 'cosmopolitan education' in empirically more grounded and feasible terms.

To unpack the principles of cosmopolitan education, I draw on my year-long period of fieldwork in Japanese schools as I participated in a non-profit education organization. During 2005 and 2006 I conducted survey interviews with more than 400 Japanese students from pre-school to college in Aichi Prefecture. I also observed classrooms and studied post-World War II school curricula and textbooks. Over the course of this fieldwork I taught lessons as a guest teacher and began to advise the non-profit organization called the Japan Future Problem-solving Programme (FPSP) (2008). In the light of these experiences, I first discuss educational practices that can encourage the development of attachments to people and objects of foreign nationalities. Emotion is fundamental to education of cosmopolitan nationals, and psychoanalysts and neuroscientists are unequivocal about the primacy of emotion in human life. [4] With an emphasis on the affective dimension of education, I hope to correct a cognitivist bias pervasive in the existent studies of what is called 'international' or 'global' education (Hicks 2002). Secondly, given a multiplication of attachments across national borders as a foundation of cosmopolitan education, I examine educational practices that help students develop understandings of networks of transnational connections in which their daily lives are embedded. In other words, I investigate ways in which educators can help students become amateur Actor–Network theorists in their own right in order to understand the transnational connections folded in their local environment. Thirdly, I explore designs of educational programmes that enable students to act on their transnational attachments and understandings so as to effect transformations across national borders. Cosmopolitan education must empower students by providing them with opportunities to experience themselves as active participants in the world, as *citizens*—not simply as students—who can effect transnational transformations.

Anyone familiar with works of Bourdieu (1984, 1990) will immediately recognize that I organize principles of cosmopolitan education according to his formulation of *habitus* as a set of dispositions of cognition, emotion, and action. (The only difference is that I prioritize emotion over cognition because the former is more fundamental than the latter.) My reference to Bourdieu and his formulation of *habitus* is not accidental, for cosmopolitan education is about the cultivation of practical *dispositions,* rather than abstract ideals and aspirations, that enable students to feel and think about connections that traverse national borders and to act out of those connections.

Thus, at first glance, the cosmopolitan education I am advocating here is similar to the 'global education' that Mansilla and Gardner (2007) have proposed to foster 'global consciousness' consisting of the following cognitive-affective capacities:

global sensitivity, or our awareness of local experience as a manifestation of broader developments in the planet; *global understanding*, or our capacity to think in flexible and informed ways about contemporary worldwide developments; and *global self*, or a perception of ourselves as global actors, a sense of planetary belonging and membership in humanity that guides our actions and prompts our civic commitments. (p. 59)

Although I am sympathetic with this vision of global education, I do not think this 'global education' is viable; it is founded on misunderstandings of the contemporary historical condition under which students grow up. First and foremost, an all-encompassing 'global self' or 'planetary belonging', which dialectically transcends national borders and sublates national differences into humanity as a whole, does not, and perhaps cannot, exist. What does and can exist is a 'dialogical self' or a 'dialogical belonging' which traverses national borders through a multiplication of attachments beyond one's ascribed national group. Furthermore, 'global *consciousness*' still implies the primacy of cognition. The cosmopolitan education I am proposing is different because its goal is to facilitate the development of dispositions where cognitive and actional elements are built on an affective element. This is why I open the following discussion of principles of cosmopolitan education by examining the role of emotional attachment.

Extending attachments to foreign others and cultures

Studies in developmental psychology have shown that children develop affective preferences for foreign peoples and places earlier than they develop accurate understandings of them (Tajfel *et al.* 1970, Reizábal *et al.* 2004). A person's affective reaction precedes his or her knowledge. During my fieldwork I, too, found that pre-schoolers' affective attitudes toward foreign peoples and countries developed earlier than their knowledge. A case in point was my interaction with Kenji, a 6-year-old pre-schooler at Ueoka Nursery School in Japan. [5] While we were playing in a school hallway, I asked him whether there was any country he would like to visit. He smiled and shouted, 'Australia!' I asked him why. He responded, 'because I want to meet stag beetles'. I probed him further, 'anywhere else?' He smiled again and said, 'Brazil! Because I want to meet Hercules beetles'. I nodded and told him that I hoped that he would have a chance in the future to visit Australia and Brazil to meet those beetles. Although I was going to close our conversation then, Kenji continued, 'I want to go to the North Pole, too'. Even though I did not think that the North Pole was a country, I felt obliged to ask him why. He answered, 'because I want to meet polar bears!'

This episode illustrated one important characteristic of the earliest form of transnational emotional attachment in young children in contemporary Japan. First, children's interests encourage the development of positive attitudes toward foreign peoples and countries. I knew that Kenji was a huge fan of *Mushi Kingu* [King of Beetles], which is a combination of an arcade game and collectible card game. [6] He had a figure of a Hercules beetle on his small messenger bag. When he played with Lego blocks, he almost always assembled what he claimed to be a beetle and made it battle with other Lego-block beetles of his friends. He knew very little about Brazil, except that it had Hercules beetles and was far away from Japan; however, he came to like Brazil nonetheless, because of his strong interests in beetles. Here the child's idiosyncratic interest functioned as 'glue' to attach him positively to foreign countries.

This is consistent with a finding of my survey research. From May 2005–March 2006, I conducted survey interview with grade 2 students (7–8-year-olds), grade 6 students (11–12-year-olds), grade 8 students (13–14-year-olds), and university juniors and seniors (21–23-year-olds). I asked them to answer the

question, ‘if you could choose the country where you are born and grow up, what country would you like to choose? Why?’ I borrowed the question from Piaget and Weil (1951) in their pioneering study probing how children developed attachments to their ascribed national groups. All the children from ages 6–13 who participated in Piaget and Weil’s study chose their ascribed national groups. Attachment or identification with one’s ascribed national group was taken for granted at that time. [7] At the beginning of the 21st-century, however, things look different. Among the total number of valid responses (n = 426) in my survey, 56.1% of respondents (n = 239) answered that they would like to be born and grow up in Japan, and 43.9% of respondents (n = 187) answered that they would like to be born and grow up in foreign countries. A person’s ascribed national group no longer monopolizes his or her emotional attachment.

The reasons that the latter group of respondents gave for their attachments to foreign countries exhibit a recurrent pattern—the existence of ‘glue’—which was absent from the former. Among grade 2 students, the reasons for their attachments to foreign countries were mostly related to their own interests. For example, a grade 2 girl who chose the USA was learning English, and another girl who chose China was taking gymnastics lessons and once showed me her tricks with a horizontal bar in the school ground. Here again, students’ interests (e.g. English, gymnastics) functioned as ‘glue’ by which the students bonded emotionally with foreign images. If someone is interested in learning English or gymnastics, he or she is likely to be receptive to images that are associated with the English language or gymnastics in his or her everyday life, and these images inevitably include those of foreigners. Compared to grade 2 students, answers from grade 6 and grade 8 students indicated that they had greater knowledge of foreign countries in terms of their own interests. An 11-year-old boy who loved science chose the USA ‘because there is NASA’ [National Aeronautics and Space Administration]. Another 11-year-old boy who played baseball would like to be born and grow up in the USA because he would be ‘better at baseball’. A 13-year-old boy who played baseball on the junior high school team went so far as to declare his desire to be born African-American in the USA because ‘African-Americans have better muscles than Japanese’. Again, attachments to foreign countries were encouraged by students’ own interests.

Although my study was cross-sectional, answers from university students suggest how these idiosyncratic attachments could develop into serious commitments later in life. For example, the 23-year-old college senior, Shizuka, expressed her attachment to South Korea. She was interested in popular music and a fan of the female South Korean singer, Boa, who was able to sing songs in both Korean and Japanese: ‘I like her best. She is really pretty. I came to like South Korea because of her.’ After coming to college, Shizuka’s personal interest developed into an academic and professional interest. Her goal as a future schoolteacher was to educate younger generations in such a way that they could improve Japan’s relationship with Asian countries, and with South Korea in particular. At the time of the interview, Shizuka was learning the Korean language and going to participate in a study trip to South Korea at the end of the academic year through a non-governmental organization that promoted cultural exchange between Japan and South Korea.

I have focused on the development of attachment to foreign others and cultures because for students to be motivated to acquire knowledge about foreign countries, they must first feel emotionally attached to them, no matter how idiosyncratic those attachments may be. Although teachers and other adults can lavish students with stories, pictures, and statistics of humanitarian crises abroad, students would not be able to connect to such audio-visual information unless they have attachments to people who are suffering from the problems. Cosmopolitan education must acknowledge the important role of emotion in the making of cosmopolitan citizens. Emotion is a non-rational, *not* an irrational, vehicle for understanding global problems and developing action plans to try to solve such problems.

Nonetheless, cosmopolitan education should not stop at encouraging the extension of attachments beyond national borders. As students acquire attachments to people and objects of foreign national groups, they become ready to absorb knowledge about them effectively. The cognitive component of cosmopolitanism therefore builds on the affective component; however, the latter in turn depends on the former in the sense that an increase in knowledge of foreign others and cultures can prevent attachments from degenerating into simple-minded idealization or exoticization. Although children's initial attachments to foreign others cannot but be idiosyncratic, cosmopolitan education ultimately aims to help students transform such idiosyncratic attachments into more 'enlightened', mature, and serious commitments, as in the case of Shizuka. Hence I now turn to discussion of the cognitive component of cosmopolitan education.

Developing understandings of transnational connections

Because young people's cultural environments are full of transnational actants (especially objects), they can readily obtain real-life materials through which they can explore the realities of globalization in their everyday lives that underwrite the possibility of cosmopolitanism. Left on their own, however, students do not always recognize transnationality of the actants that encircle them. For example, during a debriefing after the survey at Ueoka Elementary School where I conducted a part of my fieldwork and served as a guest teacher, I asked grade 2 students, 'the clothes you are wearing right now—where do you think they were made?' A few students shouted immediately, 'Japan!' 'Of course, it's Japan!' Other students nodded and expressed their agreement. I paused a couple of seconds deliberately to create a moment of suspense and told them that I was sure that their clothes were not made in Japan. 'What?' 'really?' 'that's a lie!', replied the agitated students. To calm them, I spoke loudly:

Well, do you want to know where your clothes were made? Look inside your clothes. Turn inside out your clothes and look for a tag. It will tell you where your clothes were made.

Students then started looking eagerly for tags. Some students found them quickly and shouted origins of their clothes: China, Malaysia, Indonesia, and so on. Others had to take off their clothes and turn them inside out. Discovering that their clothes were made in foreign countries, students became excited and almost ecstatic while comparing origins of their clothes with one another. As students began to calm down, I asked them, 'so, how did your clothes get here, in Japan, from foreign countries?'

The grade 2 students fell silent. They did not know the answer. I briefly explained to them how their clothes were made by people abroad and carried to Japan by airplane and ship. One boy then shouted, 'aha, import!' His pronunciation of the word 'import' was awkward, indicating that the word was not familiar to him. I nodded in approval and asked him why he knew such a difficult word. He said proudly, 'my dad told me!' I concluded the debriefing by telling them:

You are surrounded by things from foreign countries, though you may not have noticed them. For example, the clothes you are wearing. They are like a tug of a net. It is a starting point of connections to the world outside Japan. You pull that tug, you pull it and pull it, and then, you will catch a glance of what's happening outside Japan: people who made your clothes, their daily lives, and so on. It's fun to discover such connections in things around you and trace those connections to abroad. You may not believe me, but I think that's the best way to study the world.

I contend that cosmopolitan education is most effective if it begins with people and objects that immediately surround children. Thus I am advocating turning students into actor-network theorists in their own right. In fact, what I told the grade 2 students can be readily restated as follows:

Yes, we should follow the suggestion that interactions are overflowed by many ingredients already in place that come from other times, other spaces and other agents; yes, we should accept the idea of moving away to some other sites in order to find the source of those many ingredients. (Latour 2005: 171)

Young children are unlikely to be capable of moving physically from their immediate local to other locals by tracing the overflow of connections to other spaces, times, and agents; however, my debriefing aimed to prime the grade 2 students precisely in that direction. Adults can help children turn inside out the transnationality hidden in local materials—that is, discover and reconceptualize the local as the glocal. This is the first step to help young students understand the transnational connections in which they are embedded, initially without their knowledge.

Furthermore, I found that social studies textbooks used at Ueoka Elementary School were consistent with the ANT approach to cosmopolitan education. Half of the second volume of *Atarashi Shakai* [New Social Studies] (Tokyo Shoseki 2005) in grade 6 was devoted to a chapter entitled 'Japan in the World' [*Sekai no nakano nihon*]. The chapter begins with a satellite picture of Japan and Eurasia and proceeds to the first substantive lesson entitled 'Let's look for the world in our everyday life'. The textbook defines the first step of learning the world as examination of 'things and cultures in our everyday life that came from foreign countries'. Here 'the world in Japan' serves as a point of departure for the chapter 'Japan in the World'. The textbook then introduces four countries about which students are going to learn in subsequent sections of the chapter—the USA, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and China—on the grounds that these countries have 'very strong ties' with Japan.

Thus, the organization of the chapter is very much in the spirit of ANT. The textbook asks grade 6 readers to locate non-Japanese objects in their Japanese daily life and trace their connections to the USA, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and China. Perhaps this organization of the textbook—to discover the global in the local and reconceptualize the global as the translocal—should not surprise educators at all because the idea of 'glocalization' originated in Japan (Robertson 1992). In other words, the social studies textbook is organized according to the following sociological insight:

The global is not in and of itself counterposed to the local. Rather, what is often referred to as the local is essentially included within the global. … [G]lobalization, defined in its most general sense as the compression of the world as a whole, involves the linking of localities. (Robertson 1995: 35)

Perhaps one of the most delicate and challenging problems of cosmopolitan education is to decide how students should learn about the power and domination that operate in those transnational connections that they trace across national borders. I do not think that ANT of cosmopolitan education can remain apolitical or indifferent to injustices. Even though ANT does not often make its critical perspective explicit, it cares about 'emancipation' in the sense of 'getting out of a *bad* bondage', if not 'an *absence* of bonds' (Latour 2005: 230). In tracing transnational connections and studying other peoples and places, students should be able eventually to acquire critical perspectives that enable them to envision possible transformations of the world in an empirically informed manner. Indeed, cosmopolitan education in developed countries, such as Japan, must have ethical concerns for economic exploitation, poverty, and violence in developing countries, because many consumer products sold in developed countries trace to exploitative social relations in which persons in developing countries are trapped (e.g. child labour, sweat shops). What, then, is the appropriate age for students to start learning those unjust transnational connections in which their daily lives are implicated? What kinds of unjust transnational connections, and how much, should students learn and discuss in class?

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to answer fully these questions, I suggest that, for students to confront these difficult social problems and ethical questions, they must first understand how they

themselves are implicated in those connections. Only when such understandings are secured can students begin to reflect critically upon exploitative social relations and make plans for actions to transform them. Although I agree with philosophers and educators about the importance of learning global problems for the purpose of fostering the sense of ethical responsibility beyond national borders and ultimately achieving greater justice in the world, I do not think cosmopolitan education can start there. The first step is to help students expand on their own understandings of transnational connections folded in their everyday life from the ground up.

Taking actions to effect changes across national borders

After students have developed attachments to foreign others and understandings of transnational connections, cosmopolitan education proceeds to encourage them to act on those attachments and understandings so as to transform the world. This third action component of cosmopolitan education is important because it feeds back into the affective and cognitive components. When acting to intervene in the lives of foreign others, students are often forced to reflect critically on their attachments and understandings. 'How do I really feel about these foreigners?'; 'Do I understand their situations, needs, and desires accurately?'; 'How do they feel about me doing this?' Asking these questions over the course of action, students are able to re-examine and transform their attachments to and understandings of foreign others.

Moreover, the action component of cosmopolitan education recruits students to a subject position of participant or citizen. So long as children and adolescents are confined to the subject position of student, they tend to be subordinated to teachers; however, once they are positioned as citizens in their own right, they can feel more empowered. To effect changes in the world, young people have to step out of the subject position of student vis-à-vis the confines of classrooms. The goal of cosmopolitan education is to educate *citizens* of the world who actively participate in the world. Thus the action component should be doubly transformative. It aims to transform both the world and students themselves.

Below, I discuss two examples to elaborate the action component of cosmopolitan education. The first example is taken from the work of grade 6 students at Ueoka Elementary School in Integrated Study (IS) during the academic year 2005–2006. IS is a new academic subject introduced in 2002 to 'cultivate the attitude and competence [in students] to set goals by themselves, learn voluntarily, think independently, make decisions autonomously, and solve problems effectively' (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) 2004: 3). Because the actual IS contents are left to individual schools, grade 6 teachers and students at Ueoka Elementary School took on a project to study the situations of Cambodian children and collect funds to build a school building for them. The project was initiated by Ms Suzuki, one of the four grade 6 teachers, in collaboration with her acquaintances Mr and Ms Tanaka, owners of a family business who had already built one school in Cambodia.

In April (the beginning of the Japanese academic year), the grade 6 students started studying situations of Cambodian children of their own age through guest lectures by Mr Tanaka as well as through books. They learned that Cambodia was devastated by the military dictatorship and civil wars; children there often got killed or lost their limbs because of undetected landmines; and many of them could not study in schools because the country did not have enough funds to construct school buildings. As Mr Tanaka gave lectures based on his own experiences with the help of photos he had taken of the country and people, for those grade 6 students 'Cambodian children' were not a faceless idea but concrete foreign others who were their contemporaries. Perhaps this helped students begin to develop some kind of attachments (e.g. sympathy) for Cambodian children whom they saw in Mr Tanaka's pictures. In June and July before a summer recess began, the students discussed how to raise 3.3 million yen (~ US$30,000) necessary for building a school in Cambodia. They decided to have a fund-raising drive in September: to go to nearby

shopping malls, publicize the plight of Cambodian children, and ask shoppers for donations. In preparation for the planned fund-raising drive, the students made posters that described situations of Cambodian children and called for donations to build a school building. Then, over one weekend in September, accompanied by grade 6 teachers and parent volunteers, they took turns to stand in the shopping areas, presented posters, and requested donations. After the fund-raising drive, however, they were still ~ 2 million yen short of their target. So they decided to have an additional 'charity bazaar'. Students circulated fliers in neighbourhoods surrounding the school to advertise the bazaar. In October, the grade 6 teachers and students collected unused commercial products from homes. In November they held a bazaar in the school gymnasium to sell those donated products. After the bazaar, they were still ~ 1 million yen short at the end of the academic year; however, as Mr and Ms Tanaka had raised funds to make up the difference, enough funds were secured to build a school in Cambodia.

Over the course of the academic year, the grade 6 teachers asked students repeatedly how they really felt about children in Cambodia. Although this emphasis on the emotional aspect of learning is common in Japanese education (Lewis 1995, Tsuneyoshi 2001, Sato 2004), it helped students re-examine and transform their initial attachments to Cambodian children in the context of the IS project. After the fund-raising drive in September, for example, Ms Ando, one of the grade 6 teachers, asked students what they had done so far. A few students raised their hands and said in turn, 'We made posters', 'We collected donations', and 'We are going to have an additional bazaar'. Ms Ando nodded and told all students to write down on the blackboard their honest feelings and thoughts about the activities that they had done. In about five minutes all students finished writing on the blackboard and returned to their seats. Ms Ando read aloud what everyone wrote. After reading all of them, Ms Ando turned to students and said:

I'm just wondering what place Cambodian children occupied in your mind while you were doing this work. There are various people in the world, and some of them don't think what we are doing is worthwhile. But how would you answer to those people? How would you tell them why you are doing what you are doing? Could you answer? What concerns me is whether you have real sympathy [*omoiyari*] for Cambodian children, whether you only enjoyed yourselves without really thinking about them. If you are going to do a bazaar only for fun, you wouldn't be able to answer the question 'Why are you selling these goods?' I want you to be ready to answer the question. If you don't work for the upcoming bazaar with real feelings [*kimochi*], you might as well waste time. Of course, the bazaar will be fun, but I want you to think hard about why you are doing this.

Ms Ando's lesson was not entirely unproblematic, because she was implicitly forcing students to develop genuine attachments to Cambodian children; however, she was nonetheless giving students an opportunity to reflect on how they really felt about the foreign others. Some students may have renewed and strengthened their attachments in response to Ms Ando's questions, whereas others may have realized that they did not care very much about Cambodia. Thus, the action component of the IS project could feed back into the affective component and help students re-examine their attachments.

Moreover, at the last meeting of the IS project in March 2006, all the grade 6 students expressed their desire to visit the school they helped build in Cambodia and meet students there. This indicated that although the IS project at Ueoka Elementary School was originally initiated by the teachers, it worked as a form of recruitment, that is, provided students who may have previously lacked dispositions for transnational attachments, understandings, and actions with 'a novel opportunity to experience themselves as responsible civic actors' (Metz and Youniss 2005: 431). Civic actors, including citizens of the world, are not born, but made through participation in concrete civic practices. The IS project at Ueoka Elementary School enabled the grade 6 students to participate in activities that had many civic elements and to experience themselves as transnational citizens, not just students.

The second example comes from activities of the non-profit education organization FPSP and the Future Problem-solving Programme International [FPSPI]. [8] I have been working with members of the FPSP and the FPSPI—educators and students in both Japan and the USA—with a new programme called 'Transnational community problem solving'. This new programme aims to transnationalize the existing programme 'Community problem solving' (CmPS). In CmPS, students (typically from the same school) form a team. They demarcate a problem in their local community, devise the most promising action plan to solve the problem, implement the action, and analyse its effect. So far, the scope of CmPS has been national, though the FPSPI itself is an organization that draws members from Australia, Canada, China (Hong Kong), Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Russia, Singapore, South Korea, and the USA.

In a new, transnational version of CmPS, Japanese and US students engage in collaboration in demarcating, analysing, and solving problems that affect their schools and communities on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. For example, high school students in Tokyo and a team of elementary-, middle-, and high-school students in Michigan, USA, analysed the situations of Japanese students in schools in the Detroit area. There are a fair number of Japanese students who are temporarily enrolled in US schools in Detroit because they have moved from Japan to the USA with their parents who work for companies in automobile industries. The Japanese and US students discussed ways to ease these Japanese students' academic and social adjustments when they move from Japan to the USA. They decided to make a video that introduced typical US school life to Japanese students who are going to come to the USA so that Japanese students can get a better sense of what they should expect. After reaching an agreement on an overall script for a video, the US students made and edited a video, and their counterparts in Japan dubbed it in Japanese. [9] Those of us involved in the transnational CmPS are hoping that this type of collaborative problem-solving can help both US and Japanese students develop analytical and communicative skills, as well as civic aspirations and friendship, whose scope traverses national borders.

I contend that the transnational CmPS and the IS project at Ueoka Elementary School illustrate one important feature of viable cosmopolitan education: cosmopolitan education does not have to posit 'global civil society' as some monolithic and all-encompassing entity. Global or transnational civil societies exist only in the plural form: multitudes of associations, branching across national borders, enable human actors to effect changes beyond the confines of their localities. Associations travelling across many different localities do not aggregate to a single, all-encompassing society. Transnational civil societies are overlapping webs of associations, revolving around multiple centres as most intensely connected network nodes. An idea of a single global civil society is not necessary for the possibility of transnational civic actions. Nor is a world government that purports to represent a single polity of citizens of the world. To put it the other way round, transnational civic actions take place only through concrete associations between particular locals; for example, associations between students in Tokyo and Michigan through the institutional channel of the FPSP and the FPSPI, and associations between Ueoka Elementary School and a certain locale of Cambodia through the mediation of the non-governmental actors, Mr and Ms Tanaka.

Again, a primary goal of cosmopolitan education is not so much the making of global citizens with 'global self', 'planetary belonging', or allegiance to humanity as a whole; it is the educating of cosmopolitan-local citizens who are capable of taking actions that effect transformations across national borders by virtue of their attachments and connections to particular people and objects of multiple nationalities.

The action component of cosmopolitan education is important for two reasons. First, it can feed back into affective and cognitive components, providing students with opportunities to reflect critically on their initial attachments to and understandings of foreign others. Secondly, the action component can recruit students to the subject position of transnational civic actor, namely, citizen of the world. The action

component of cosmopolitan education thus builds on the affective and cognitive components while showing students a way to grow further to be active participants in the globalizing world.

Conclusion and implications

I have proposed a sociological vision of cosmopolitan education based on an ANT of the contemporary historical condition. For cosmopolitan education to be a viable project, it must take into account the fact that cosmopolitanism, openness to foreign others and cultures, is driven by the ever-wider circulation of people and objects of multiple nationalities. Accordingly, cosmopolitan education begins with cultivation of attachments to people and objects across national borders. It then makes use of these attachments to motivate students to understand transnational connections to foreign others that are folded in their everyday lives. Given these transnational attachments and understandings, cosmopolitan education proceeds to provide students with educational opportunities to transform the world and themselves while acting as young civic actors whose visions and actions go beyond confines of their ascribed national groups.

Because this sociological version of cosmopolitan education is grounded in the empirical reality, it can be marred by existing problems in the world. Transnational attachments can be prevented by nationalism or perverted into idealizing exoticization of foreign others. It may well be difficult, at both epistemic and political levels, for teachers and students in some countries to examine and understand in depth exploitative kinds of transnational connections from which they benefit at the expense of peoples in other countries. Some schools also may not have sufficient resources to carry out action-oriented learning activities that effect changes across national borders. These problems notwithstanding, I think that the only way to build viable cosmopolitan education and cultivate cosmopolitan dispositions in students is:

> [to make best of] the imperfect historical materials—churches and mosques, commercial interests and immigrant diasporas, sentimentality about hungry children and technorapture over digitalized communication—that are already at hand. (Robbins 1998: 6)

What educators must do is to understand what ‘imperfect historical materials’ are already available for learning and use them to help students develop their incipient cosmopolitan dispositions for transnational attachments, understandings, and actions. It is time for educators to move beyond philosophical debates on cosmopolitanism and initiate discussion of cosmopolitan education in a more empirically-grounded and practical manner.

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Notes

1. See Beck and Sznaider (2006), Hannerz (1990), Roudometof (2005), and Skrbis *et al.* (2004).

2. Nowadays the local is becoming a rarity: ‘much of what we often think of as the local is, in reality, the glocal’ (Ritzer 2003: 207). Similarly, what we think of as locals are becoming cosmopolitan locals.

3. Here the anthropological tropes of ‘travel’ (Clifford 1997) and ‘hybridity’ (Bhabha 1994) must be reconfigured to encompass the glocal or cosmopolitan-local conditions of non-immigrants. A distinction between mobile and immobile does not map onto a dichotomy between cosmopolitans and locals because localities themselves are becoming glocal and hybrid as they are made up of both mobile and immobile actants. People do not have to ‘travel’ (both literally and metaphorically) to be cosmopolitans. ‘Cosmopolitan locals’ are therefore different from ‘rooted cosmopolitans’ (Appiah 2006). Although the latter are people like immigrants who travel across national borders extensively, the former are mostly non-immigrants who became cosmopolitan by virtue of glocal attachments.

4. See e.g. Damasio (1999).

5. The names of the school and the participants are pseudonyms. Responses in the text (and extracts from documents originally in Japanese) have been translated by the author.

6. The game, developed by Sega, the Japanese videogame company, involves battles between cards describing various beetle species. An animated television programme based on this game was aired through April 2005 to March 2006.

7. This finding was confirmed by Hess and Torney (1967), who reported that nearly 95% of their interviewees from grades 2–8 in the USA answered that America was the best country in the world and they would rather be an American than a member of another nation. They concluded that attachment to one’s ascribed national group developed from a very early age and served as a foundation of subsequent development of political attitudes and ideologies.

8. For more information see FPSP (2008) and FPSPI (2008).

9. See Japan Student Video (2008).

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